

Message Text

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8283

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI PRIORITY

USLO PEKING PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 USUN 2872

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, UG, IS, US

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL: UGANDA RESCUE

REF: USUN 2849

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FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF GOV SCRANTON'S STATEMENT AS DELIVERED
IN SECURITY COUNCIL AFTERNOON JULY 12:

QUOTE FIRST OF ALL, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY HOW
PLEASED I AM TO SEE YOU IN THE PRESIDENT'S CHAIR DURING
THIS DEBATE. WITH THE ARTISTRY OF LEONARDO AND THE STRUCTURAL
GENIUS OF MICHAELANGELO AND THE PRACTICAL IMAGINATION OF GALILEO
IN YOUR VEINS, I AM SURE THAT YOUR LONG EXPERIENCE AND YOUR
DIPLOMATIC SKILL WILL MAKE YOURS ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING PRESI-
DENCIES OF OUR REGIME.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO FOREIGN MINISTER WILLS
AND AMBASSADOR JACKSON OF GUYANA FOR THE COMPETENT WAY
THEY PRESIDED OVER THE MANY MEETINGS AND MANY CONSULTATIONS
THAT WERE HELD LAST MONTH.

ALSO, MR. PRESIDENT, I SHOULD LIKE TO CONVEY TO THE DELEGATION
OF CHINA MY SINCERE CONDOLENCES AND SYMPATHY ON THE DEATH
OF CHAIRMAN CHU TEH, AND TO THE THE DELEGATION OF THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY ON THE DEATH OF DR. GUSTAV HEINEMANN.
AND, INCIDENTALLY, I HOPE THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF GUYANA
WILL THAN AMBASSADOR JACKSON FOR HIS COMMENTS ABOUT THE
200TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR INDEPENDENCE. AND LAST BUT BY NO
MEANS LEAST, I THANK THE PRIME MINISTER OF MAURITIUS FOR
QUOTING ME THIS MORNING -- AND MAY I, INCIDENTALLY, SAY
THAT I THOUGHT HIS DELIVERY OF WHAT I SAID WAS FAR BETTER
THAN MINE.

THIS COUNCIL HAS BEEN CONVENED TO DISCUSS THE MILITARY
OPERATION OF ISRAEL TO RESCUE THE HOSTAGES THAT ARE HELD
BY AIR HIJACKERS AT ENTEBBE AIRPORT IN UGANDA. THE GOVERNMENT
OF UGANDA HAS CONDEMNED ISRAEL FOR WHAT IS TERMED "AGGRESSION
AGAINST UGANDA." ISRAEL HAD BEEN ACCUSED OF VIOLATING THE
TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF UGANDA, OF
WANTONLY DESTROYING SECTIONS OF ENTEBBE AIRPORT, AND OF KILLING
A NUMBER OF UGANDAN SOLDIERS. THESE ARE VERY GRAVE CHARGES
AND IT IS CLEARLY THE DUTY OF THIS COUNCIL TO CONSIDER THEM
IN LIGHT OF THE FACTS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.

AS MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL KNOW, I HAVE SPOKEN SEVERAL TIMES
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EARLIER THIS YEAR IN THIS COUNCIL DEFENDING THE PRINCIPLE
OF TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY IN AFRICA. I REAFFIRM THAT TODAY.
IN ADDITION TO THAT PRINCIPLE, THERE ARE OTHER BASIC PRINCIPLES
AND ISSUES AT STAKE IN THE QUESTION THAT IS BEFORE US.
WE MUST BE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEM OF AIR PIRACY
AND THE CALLOUS AND PERNICIOUS USE OF INNOCENT PEOPLE AS
HOSTAGES TO PROMOTE POLITICAL ENDS. THIS COUNCIL CANNOT
FORGET THAT THE ISRAELI OPERATION IN UGANDA WOULD NEVER COME

ABOUT, HAD THE HIJACKING OF THE AIR FRANCE FLIGHT FROM ATHENS NOT TAKEN PLACE.

LET US REVIEW THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE ISRAELI ACTION AT ENTEBBE AIRPORT. ON JULY 4, IN ORDER TO RESCUE THE REMAINING 100 HOSTAGES THAT HAD BEEN HIJACKED IN THE AIR FRANCE AIRBUS AND TAKEN TO UGANDA, ISRAEL SENT A SMALL MILITARY FORCE TO ENTEBBE AIRPORT. THIS FORCE SUCCEEDED IN RESCUING THE HOSTAGES AND RETURNING TO ISRAEL. THREE OF THE HOSTAGES, ONE ISRAELI SOLDIER, SEVEN OF THE TERRORISTS, AND A NUMBER OF UGANDAN SOLDIERS WERE APPARENTLY KILLED, AND SEVERAL UGANDAN AIRCRAFT WERE DESTROYED. THE ISRAELI FORCE WAS ON THE GROUND FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF AND DEPARTED FOR ISRAEL AS SOON AS IT WAS POSSIBLE TO DO SO IN SAFETY.

ISRAEL'S ACTION IN RESCUING THE HOSTAGES NECESSARILY INVOLVED A TEMPORARY BREACH OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF UGANDA. NORMALLY SUCH A BREACH WOULD BE IMPERMISSIBLE UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. HOWEVER, THERE IS A WELL-ESTABLISHED, RIGHT TO USE LIMITED FORCE FOR THE PROTECTION OF ONE'S OWN NATIONALS FROM AN IMMINENT THREAT OF INJURY OR DEATH IN A SITUATION WHERE THE STATE IN WHOSE TERRITORY THEY ARE LOCATED EITHER IS UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO PROTECT THEM. THE RIGHT, FLOWING FROM THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE, IS LIMITED TO SUCH USE OF FORCE AS IS NECESSARY AND APPROPRIATE TO PROTECT THREATENED NATIONALS FROM INJURY.

THE REQUIREMENTS OF THIS RIGHT TO PROTECT NATIONALS WERE CLEARLY MET IN THE ENTEBBE CASE. ISRAEL HAD GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT AT THE TIME IT ACTED ISRAELI NATIONALS WERE IN IMMINENT DANGER OF EXECUTION BY THE HIJACKERS. MOREOVER, THE ACTIONS NECESSARY TO RELEASE THE ISRAELI NATIONALS OR TO PREVENT SUBSTANTIAL LOSS OF ISRAELI LIVES HAD NOT BEEN TAKEN BY THE

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GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA, NOR WAS THERE A REASONABLE EXPECTATION SUCH ACTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN. IN FACT, THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA COOPERATED WITH AND AIDED THE HIJACKERS.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED OAU POSTS.

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A NUMBER OF THE RELEASED HOSTAGES HAVE PUBLICLY RELATED HOW
THE UGANDAN AUTHORITIES ALLOWED SEVERAL ADDITIONAL TERRORISTS
TO REINFORCE THE ORIGINAL GROUP AFTER THE PLANE LANDED,
PERMITTED THEM TO RECEIVE ADDITIONAL ARMS AND ADDITIONAL
EXPLOSIVES, PARTICIPATED IN GUARDING THE HOSTAGES, AND
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ACCORDING TO SOME ACCOUNTS, EVEN TOOK OVER SOLE

CUSTODY OF SOME OR ALL OF THE PASSENGERS TO ALLOW THE HIJACKERS TO REST. THE EASE AND SUCCESS OF THE ISRAELI EFFORT TO FREE THE HOSTAGES FURTHER SUGGESTS THAT THE UGANDA AUTHORITIES COULD HAVE OVERPOWERED THE HIJACKERS AND RELEASED THE HOSTAGES IF THEY HAD REALLY HAD THE DESIRE TO DO SO.

THE APPARENT SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE HIJACKERS BY THE UGANDAN AUTHORITIES CAUSES US TO QUESTION WHETHER UGANDA LIVED UP TO ITS INTERNATIONAL LEGAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE HAGUE CONVENTION. THE RIGHTS OF A STATE CARRY WITH THEM IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH WERE NOT MET BY UGANDA IN THIS CASE. THE ISRAELI MILITARY ACTION WAS LIMITED TO THE SOLE OBJECTIVE OF EXTRICATING THE PASSENGERS AND CREW, AND TERMINATED WHEN THAT OBJECTIVE WAS ACCOMPLISHED. THE FORCE EMPLOYED WAS LIMITED TO WHAT WAS NECESSARY FOR THAT RESCUE OF THE THE PASSENGERS AND CREW.

THAT ISRAEL MIGHT HAVE SECURED THE RELEASE OF ITS NATIONALS BY COMPLYING WITH THE TERRORISTS DEMANDS DOES NOT ALTER THESE CONCLUSIONS. NO STATE IS REQUIRED TO YIELD CONTROL OVER PERSONS IN LAWFUL CUSTODY IN ITS TERRITORY UNDER CRIMINAL CHARGES. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE A SELF-DEFEATING AND DANGEROUS POLICY TO RELEASE PRISONERS, CONVICTED IN SOME CASES OF EARLIER ACTS OF TERRORISM, IN ORDER TO ACCEDE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE TERRORISTS.

IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS ASSESSMENT OF THE LEGALITY OF ISRAELI ACTIONS DEPENDS HEAVILY ON THE UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS SPECIFIC CASE. IN PARTICULAR, THE EVIDENCE IS STRONG THAT GIVEN THE ATTITUDE OF THE UGANDAN AUTHORITIES, COOPERATION WITH OR RELIANCE ON THEM IN RESCUING THE PASSENGERS AND CREW WAS IMPRACTICABLE. IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THESE UNIQUE CIRCUMSTANCES WILL NOT ARISE IN THE FUTURE. WE OF COURSE STRONGLY DEFEND THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. MOREOVER, THE UNITED STATES DEPLORES THE LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY AT ENTEBBE AND EXTENDS ITS SYMPATHY TO THOSE FAMILIES WHO WERE BEREAVED BY EVENTS ORIGINATING IN ACTS OF TERRORISM THAT THEY NEITHER SUPPORTED NOR CONDONED. BUT, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION BELIEVES VERY STRONGLY THAT THIS COUNCIL SHOULD ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE CAUSES OF INCIDENTS SUCH AS THAT WHICH OCCURRED

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LAST WEEK IN UGANDA. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS COUNCIL SHOULD ONCE AGAIN TAKE POSITIVE ACTION TO PUT AN END TO SUCH SENSELESS VIOLENCE. WE BELIEVE THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER TO INSURE AGAINST A RECURRENCE OF THIS BRUTAL, CALLOUS AND SENSELESS INTERNATIONAL CRIME OF HIJACKING -- THE CRIME WHICH GAVE RISE TO THE ISRAELI ACTION.

AT THE VERY LEAST, IT SEEMS TO US, THIS COUNCIL SHOULD

IMMEDIATELY RECORD ITS COLLECTIVE VIEW THAT INTERNATIONAL
TERRORISM--AND SPECIFICALLY HIJACKING--MUST BE STOPPED. THERE
IS AMPLE PRECEDENT FOR TAKING SUCH ACTION. THE UNITED
NATIONS HAS SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY AGAINST HIJACKING AND INT-
ERFERENCE WITH INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ON OTHER TIMES.
ON 9 SEPTEMBER 1970 THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS RE-
SOLUTION 286 APPEALING "FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL PASSENGERS
AND CREW WITHOUT EXCEPTION, HELD AS A RESULT OF HIJACKINGS".
IT CALLED ON STATES "TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE LEGAL STEPS TO
PREVENT FURTHER HIJACKINGS OR ANY OTHER INTERFERENCE WITH
INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AIR TRAVEL." LATER IN THE AUTUMN OF
1970 THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED ITS DETAILED RESOLUTION 2645
(XXV) CONFIRMING "WITHOUT EXCEPTION WHATSOEVER, ALL ACTS OF AERIAL
HIJACKING". THE RESOLUTION, WHICH THE ASSEMBLY ADOPTED BY AN
OVERWHELMING VOTE OF 105 IN FAVOR AND NONE AGAINST, WITH
EIGHT ABSTENTION, FURTHER DECLARED THAT "THE EXPLOITATION OF UNLAW-
FUL SEIZURE OF AIRCRAFT FOR THE PURPOSE OF TAKING HOSTAGES IS TO BE
CONDEMNED", AND IT CALLED FOR EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE A
SUCCESS OUT OF THE THEN FORTHCOMING HAGUE CONFERENCE NEGOTIATIONS
FOR AN ANTI-HIJACKING TREATY.

AGAIN ACTING BY CONSENSUS, THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON
20 JUNE 1972 STATED ITS GRAVE CONCERN "AT THE THREAT TO THE
LIVES OF PASSENGERS AND CREW ARISING FROM THE HIJACKING OF AIR-
CRAFT".

THE COUNCIL CALLED UPON STATES "TO DETER AND PREVENT SUCH ACTS
AND TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO DEAL WITH THOSE WHO COMMIT
SUCH ACTS."

IN ADDITION, THERE ALREADY EXISTS AN INTERNATIONAL LEGAL
OBLIGATION FOR ALL STATES TO PREVENT TERRORISTS ACTS. THE
UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND COO-
PERATION AMONG STATES, CONTAINED IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2625
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KXXV), DECLARES: "EVERY STATE HAS THE DUTY TO REFRAIN FROM ORGAN-
IZING,
INSTIGATING, ASSISTING OR PARTICIPATING IN ACTS OF CIVIL STRIFE OR
TERRORIST ACTS IN ANOTHER STATE OF ACQUIESCING IN ORGANIZED ACTIVI-
TIES
WITHIN ITS TERRITORY DIRECTED TOWARD THE COMMISSION OF SUCH ACTS,
WHEN THE ACTS REFERRED TO IN THE PRESENT PARAGRAPH INVOLVE
A THREAT OR USE OF FORCE."

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CONCERNING AIR HIJACKING IN PARTICULAR, TWELVE MEMBERS OF THIS
COUNCIL HAVE RATIFIED THE CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF
UNLAWFUL SEIZURE OF AIRCRAFT BY HIJACKING, SIGNED AT THE
HAGUE ON DECEMBER 16, 1970. OVER HALF THE MEMBERS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAVE ACCEPTED THIS CONVENTION, INCLUDING
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UGANDA AND ISRAEL. THE PURPOSE OF THE HAGUE CONVENTION IS TO PROMOTE THE SAFETY OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION. IT SEEKS TO DISCOURAGE HIJACKING BY CREATING THE REALISTIC PROSPECT OF SEVERE TREATMENT BY STATES AGAINST PERSONS HIJACKING AIRCRAFT.

TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE THE CONVENTION REQUIRES EVERY CONTRACTING STATE TO MAKE HIJACKING AN OFFENSE PUNISHABLE BY SEVERE PENALTIES. EACH CONTRACTING STATE IS ALSO BOUND TO TAKE SUCH MEASURES AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH ITS JURISDICTION OVER THE OFFENSE OF HIJACKING AND ANY OTHER ACT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST PASSENGERS OR CREW OF A HIJACKED AIRCRAFT WHICH COMES WITHIN ITS TERRITORY. ACCORDING TO THE CONVENTION, A CONTRACTING STATE SHALL TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO RESTORE CONTROL OF THE AIRCRAFT TO ITS LAWFUL COMMANDER. IT MUST ALSO FACILITATE THE CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNEY OF THE PASSENGERS AND CREW AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE AND SHALL WITHOUT DELAY RETURN THE AIRCRAFT AND ITS CARGO TO PERSONS LAWFULLY ENTITLED TO ITS POSSESSION. FINALLY, IT MUST TAKE THE HIJACKERS INTO CUSTODY AND EITHER PROSECUTE OR EXTRADITE THEM.

THESE ARE HIGH STANDARDS, NOBODY DENIES THAT, BUT THEY ARE REASONABLE STANDARDS. MY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA HAS LIVED UP TO ITS LEGAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE HAGUE CONVENTION TO WHICH IT IS A PARTY.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD GO MUCH FURTHER IN ADDRESSING ITSELF TO THE EVILS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. IN 1972, WE PROPOSED A DRAFT CONVENTION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH PROVIDED, INTER ALIA, THAT A SIGNATORY STATE EITHER PROSECUTE PERSONS IN ITS JURISDICTION WHO COMMIT ANY ACTS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM OR EXTRADITE THEM TO THE STATE IN WHICH THE CRIME WAS COMMITTED. UNFORTUNATELY NOTHING HAS YET COME OF OUR INITIATIVE BECAUSE OF DISAGREEMENT OVER THE DEFINITION OF TERRORISM.

WITH REGARD TO AIR HIJACKING IN PARTICULAR, THE UNITED STATES HAS REPEATEDLY PRESSED IN THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION FOR THE ADOPTION OF AN INDEPENDENT CONVENTION ENABLING STATES PARTIES TO ACT IN CONCERT AGAINST

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A STATE, EVEN IF NOT A PARTY, THAT HARBORS HIJACKERS OR SABOTEURS OR THAT FAILED TO RETURN AN AIRCRAFT, PASSENGERS OR CREW. WE WILL CONTINUE TO URGE THE ADOPTION OF SUCH A CONVENTION BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT IT COULD PROVIDE FOR WORLD-WIDE ENFORCEMENT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL PRINCIPLES THAT ARE REFLECTED IN THE HAGUE CONVENTION.

MR. PRESIDENT, THIS COUNCIL CAN AND SHOULD REAFFIRM ITS OWN STAND IN OPPOSITION TO AIR HIJACKING WHICH WAS EXPRESSED IN THE COUNCIL'S CONSENSUS DECISION ON HIJACKING ADOPTED ON JUNE 20, 1972. LET US CONDEMN THE TAKING OF INNOCENT PEOPLE AS HOSTAGES. LET US DEPLORE THE THREAT TO INNOCENT HUMAN LIFE AT THE HANDS OF TERRORISTS. LET US ALSO REAFFIRM OUR DEDICATION TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF EVERY MEMBER STATE. MOST IMPORTANT, LET US TAKE A FIRM STAND AGAINST TERRORIST HIJACKING -- ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS THREATS TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD TODAY.

MR. PRESIDENT THESE ARE THE MEASURED AND CONSIDERED VIEWS OF MY GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THIS EPISODE, VIEWS WITH WHICH I TOTALLY CONCUR. BUT I ASK YOU AND MY COLLEAGUES HERE TO BEAR WITH ME A FEW MINUTES LONGER FOR I WISH TO MAKE SOME PERSONAL COMMENTS ABOUT THIS EPISODE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ITSELF AND PARTICULARLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

MY TENURE HERE, AS YOU ALL WELL KNOW, HAS BEEN OF VERY SHORT DURATION -- APPROXIMATELY FOUR MONTHS. IN THAT PERIOD OF TIME THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS BEEN IN SESSION ALMOST CONTINUOUSLY. WITH RARE EXCEPTIONS THE ISSUES BEFORE IT HAVE BEEN EXCLUSIVELY THOSE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, OUTSTANDINGLY, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

TO MY ARAB FRIENDS HERE AND ELSEWHERE, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS MADE IT CLEAR ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BY NO MEANS TOTALLY ONE-SIDED. EACH OF US, I AM SURE, HAS INDIVIDUAL PICTURES AND VIVID IMAGES THAT DWELL IN OUR MINDS WHENEVER MATTERS, AS THEY HAVE OVER THE LAST FOUR MONTHS MANY TIMES, CONCERNING THE MIDDLE EAST CONFRONT US. IN MY OWN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, THERE IS OUTSTANDINGLY A VISIT TO A REFUGEE CAMP SOUTHWEST OF AMMAN WHERE

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DECENT PEOPLE WERE LIVING UNDER VERY TRYING CONDITIONS ONLY WITH THE HELP OF UNRWA, HAVING BEEN EXPELLED FROM THEIR HOMES IN SOME CASES NOT ONCE BUT TWICE, IN 1948 AND 1967.

AND ANOTHER PICTURE WHICH WILL NEVER LEAVE MY MIND EVER: THE CONDITION OF KARAMEH AFTER THE RAID ON THAT VILLAGE.

ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS AN EQUALLY VIVID PICTURE OF JEWS WITH ACCESS TO PRAY AT THE WAILING WALL. OR, EVEN MORE VIVID, AND YOU MUST ALL REMEMBER THESE, THOSE HORRORS OF BUCHENWALD, DACHAU, AND AUSCHWITZ.

TO MY AFRICAN FRIENDS HERE AND ELSEWHERE: ON THE ISSUE OF THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, MY GOVERNMENT HAS PUT ITSELF SQUARELY ON THE SIDE OF THOSE WHO SEEK MAJORITY RULE WITH

THE DETERMINATION THAT IT BE ACHIEVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS.
I AM VERY HAPPY THAT POLICY HAS BEEN ADOPTED WHILE I AM
HERE.

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BUT TO MY ARAB AND AFRICAN FRIENDS I SAY HERE AND NOW,
LOUD AND STRONG, THERE MAY HAVE BEEN MIXED PICTURES
CONCERNING SOME OF THE QUESTIONS THAT HAVE CONFRONTED THE
SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE IMMEDIATE PAST, BUT TO MY MIND THERE IS NO
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DOUBT ON THIS ONE, NOT ONE IOTA.

WHY DO I SAY THAT SO STRONGLY AND SO DEEPLY? YES,
THERE WAS A TEMPORARY BREACH OF THE TERRITORIAL SOVER-
EIGNTY OF UGANDA AND LET US HOPE THAT THAT NEVER HAPPENS AGAIN.
BUT THERE IS ANOTHER VALUE, ANOTHER JUDGMENT WHICH SURPASSES THAT
ONE IN IMPORTANCE.

LIKE MOST OF YOU I HAVE NEVER BEEN THE HEAD OF A NATION
NOR HAD THE RESPONSIBILITIES THEREOF BUT I HAVE BEEN ACCOUNTABLE FOR
THE SAFETY AND PROTECTION OF 12 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF

PENNSYLVANIA.DURING THAT PERIOD OF TIME,EVEN THOUGH
HARDLY UNDER THE SAME CIRCUMSTANCES, I KNOW, THERE WERE
SEVERAL OCCASIONS IN WHICH INCIDENTS CONCERNING
THE SAFETY, THE PROTECTION, AND THE LIVES OF PENNSYLVANIANS
CAME TO MY OFFICE. ACTION THEREON HAD TO BE DECIDED BY ME,
THE ULTIMATE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY IN THE COMMONWEALTH.
THAT WAS MY FIRST AND FOREMOST RESPONSIBILITY. IT IS
THE FIRST AND FOREMOST RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL GOVERNMENTS.

IN THIS EPISODE, THAT RESPONSIBILITY LAY WITH THE
GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO PROTECT HER CITIZENS, HOSTAGES THRE-
ATENED WITH THEIR VERY LIVES, IN MORTAL DANGER IN A FAR AWAY
PLACE. THOSE INNOCENT PEOPLE WERESUBJECT TO THE TERRORIST HIGHJACKING
OF THE AIRPLANE ON WHICH THEY WERE RIGHTFULLY FLYING
AND FURTHER SUBJECTED TO A SIX-DAY TERRORIZING EXPERIENCE IN A FOR-
EIGN COUNTRY, SEEING OTHER PERSONS FREED WHILE THE JEWS
FORCED TO REMAIN. SUBJECTED AT GUNPOINT TO SEVEN HIGHJACKER
TERRORISTS WHO KNOW NO LAW. AWARE THAT THE ONLY POSSIBILITY OF
FREEDOM CAME FROM A GOVERNMENT WHOSE HEAD HAD PREVIOUSLY REJOICED
AT THE SLAYING OF ISRAELI ATHLETES AT MUNICH, CALLED FOR
THE EXTINCTION OF ISRAEL, AND PRAISED THAT MADMAN, HITLER,
WHO HAD ON HIS EVIL CONSCIENCE, IF HE HAD A CONSCIENCE
AT ALL, THE MURDER OF SIX MILLION JEWS.

UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, IT SEEMS TO ME, THE GOVERNMENT OF
ISRAEL INVOKED ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE RESCUE MISSIONS
IN HISTORY, A COMBINATION OF GUTS AND BRAINS THAT HAS SELDOM
IF EVER BEEN SURPASSED. IT ELECTRIFIED MILLIONS EVERYWHERE, AND
I CONFESS I WAS ONE OF THEM.

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JUSTIFIED, TRULY JUSTIFIED, BECAUSE INNOCENT DECENT PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO LIVE AND BE RESCUED FROM TERRORISTS WHO RECOGNIZE NO LAW AND ARE READY TO KILL IF THEIR DEMANDS ARE NOT MET.

WHO HAS A CONSCIENCE ABOUT THIS? WE SHOULD. EVERY SINGLE ONE OF US. I ASSUME THAT EVERY ONE OF US WANTS TO DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO AVOID SUCH EPISODES IN THE FUTURE. THIS IS ONE EPISODE IN A SERIES OF CASES OF HIGHJACKINGS BY TERRORISTS-- ABOUT WHICH WE CAN DO A GREAT DEAL. I BELIEVE THAT IF WE REALLY WANT TO, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE UNITED NATIONS CAN WIPE SUCH EPISODES OFF THE FACE OF THIS EARTH.

AS MY GOVERNMENT HAS STATED IN THIS MESSAGE I HAVE JUST FINISHED DELIVERING--WE CAN DO THIS, I POINTED OUT HOW, WE MUST DO THIS AND THEN AND ONLY THEN WILL OUR CONSCIENCES BE CLEAR FOR THE FUTURE. THEY WILL NEVER BE CLEAR FOR THE PAST.

UNQUOTE
SCRANTON

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED OAU POSTS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AIRCRAFT HIJACKING, HOSTAGES, RESCUE OPERATIONS, UNSC RESOLUTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
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Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
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Film Number: D760270-0748
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760757/aaaabymi.tel
Line Count: 627
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
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Reference: n/a
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Review Authority: schaeafaj
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